

TO THE WOMEN OF GERMANY.

Speech by Annie Kenney, delivered at the Women's Conference at Frankfurt.

THIS is a wonderful day for me; a day I shall never forget; one of those days which will stand out in my life among great events in the campaign for Women's Enfranchisement. The Women's Movement is an international one. Women of every land are to-day crying out for justice, which is liberty and equality. No nationality, no political creed, no class distinction, no difference of any sort divides us as women. We are true to womanhood first of all. We are asking that women shall be recognised as human beings with the same love of freedom, the same yearning and aspiration for development and progress with which men are endowed; the same desire for honourable service in helping to build the great temple of good. We ask that no sex disability shall bind down one half of the human race to be subject to the other half.

I am an Englishwoman and a member of the new and active movement which is called the Women's Social and Political Union. This union was formed four years ago by Mrs. Pankhurst, of Manchester, and her daughter, Miss Christabel Pankhurst. It came into prominence not quite two years ago with the first imprisonment of Miss Christabel Pankhurst and myself.

I had always been a Suffragist from the age of 14 years. I was one of a large family; my home was in the North of England in the centre of the great cotton industry, which is one of the staple trades of England. In those large factories a few years ago a child of ten was allowed to go and work in the midst of dangerous machinery. I was one of those who went at ten years of age as a little half-timer. One week we worked six hours a day, and the other week four hours a day. The rest of the day had to be filled in at school. When I was 13 I went as full-timer. We had to work ten hours a day, rising at 5.30 in the morning and working till 5.30 in the evening, except for a break of 1½ hours for meals.

The Hardness of Women's Lives.

I grew up in the midst of women and girls in the works, and I saw the hard life of these women and children about me. I noticed the great difference made in the treatment between men and women in the factory—difference in conditions, difference in wages, difference in status; but I realised this difference not in the factory alone, but in the home. I saw men and women, boys and girls, all working hard during the day in the same hot, stifling factories; then when work was over, I noticed that it was the mothers who hurried home; who fetched the children who had been put out to nurse; prepared the tea for the husband; did the cleaning, baking, washing, sewing, nursing. I noticed that when the husband came home his day's work was over; he took his tea, then went out to join his friends in the club or the public-house, or on the cricket or football field. And I used to ask myself why this was so. Why was the mother the drudge of the family, not the father's companion and equal?

Then I saw the life of the children, and I found exactly the same thing happening there on a smaller scale. The girls must work as hard as the boys in the factory; they must do just the same task and serve just the same number of hours; but when the day's work was over, the boys must have their tea first and get out of the way for the work of the home to be done by the girls. The boys, although doing just the same work, received more wages than the girls; they naturally had more spending

money, which means that they were in a position to join evening classes of every description for self-development, or to join recreation clubs for physical development, but the girls, whose place was in the home, must wash up the dishes, see to the baby, clean up the house, prepare for the morrow.

Do you wonder that my heart was full of revolt as a child against this state of things! I saw the mothers of Lancashire working in the factories a few days before the baby was born. I saw these women, whose lives were a tale of suffering and sacrifice, working all the time while they were bearing and rearing a large family, and then after a life of hard work and worry, and after the great strain of bringing life after life into the world, I have seen them sink into their grave worn out and broken-spirited. I am myself the child of a working woman, and I saw these things happen in my own mother's life. It was natural that I should ponder over all these things, and that I should begin to ask myself "How can I help the women of Great Britain to obtain a greater measure of happiness and freedom in their life?"

The Need for the Vote.

It was then that I happened to meet the Founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Pankhurst, and it was she who showed me more clearly than I had ever seen before that the only way to help the women was to get the vote by which women could help themselves.

In the latter part of the year 1905, the nation was stirred by expectation of an approaching general election, and our Union resolved that its members, instead of working in the interest of any election candidate, should go to public meetings and to put a question to every candidate who was likely to sit in the Cabinet of the next Liberal Government. The question was "Whether if so, he would do his best to make Women's Enfranchisement a Government question?" The question was put in this form, because the history of the Women's Suffrage Movement for 40 years has proved that nothing less than a Government pledge would make our claim secure. The pledges of private members in the House of Commons have proved to be absolutely unreliable.

The first meeting to which we went for this purpose was held in Manchester on October 12, 1905. Sir Edward Grey was the principal speaker. We wrote him a letter first asking him to receive a deputation of women. The letter was not acknowledged. Two delegates were sent, therefore, to his public meeting. Miss Pankhurst and I volunteered to go. I knew from my past experiences in the factory when asking for more wages or better conditions, that we had to be firm and persistent in order to win, and that we had to show that we were prepared to fight for our right. I thought it all out before I went. I knew that I should lose my friends; that I should lose my position on the district Trade Union Committee to which my workmates had elected me; I knew that I should lose all my past life, but I knew also that the day had arrived when I was to come out and fight for the weak, as I had promised my mother to do when she lay on her bed of death. So I vowed that I would never be afraid; I would work and give myself to the great women's movement until I saw women free citizens; until I saw a better country for the mothers of the race.

The night came when we had to go and begin the active campaign which all the world knows about to-day. Before we went in, to save misunderstanding for what we were asking, we made a banner and put on in big letters "Votes for Women."

The Free Trade Hall in Manchester was crowded. We waited for Sir Edward Grey to end his speech. No mention of women had been made even. Two or three men in the Hall asked questions, which were immediately answered by the speaker. Then I got up and said, "Will you, if elected, do your best to make Women's Suffrage a Government question?" There was no answer. I tried to put the question again. Some Liberal men from behind got hold of me and pulled me down on my chair. I rose again to ask for an answer, then the banner was unfurled to let the people see what we were asking for.

Six men came and one of them put his hat over my face. Miss Pankhurst got up and began to ask for an answer to the question. Men from behind dragged her down. There was a great hubbub. The chief constable of Manchester came, and said if we would sit down and write the question out he would give us his word that it would be answered. I wrote it, signed it, and sent it up with the statement that I was representing 96,000 women cotton workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it was for their sake I wanted the question answered. I saw the speaker receive it, read it, pass it on to the chairman; I saw the chairman read it and put it on one side. The meeting proceeded.

Then I rose again to protest with Miss Pankhurst. Half a dozen Liberals got hold of Miss Pankhurst and succeeded in dragging her down the body of the Hall, past the platform. Then they threw her down the steps into the street. Then I got up on my seat and refused to move until my question had been answered. Then they sent for more men; they dragged me out, and as I was passing the platform, I said:—"Sir Edward Grey, if I live to get out of this Hall, I shall hold a protest meeting against you."

As soon as they had thrown me down the steps and I found myself in the street, I started an open-air meeting of protest against the treatment we had received at the hands of a proposed Cabinet Minister. The police seized me, and I saw Miss Pankhurst being taken away between two policemen. Naturally, we were followed by hundreds of men and women. We looked at each other, and the thought that was passing in our minds was, "This is only the beginning."

The whole country rang with the news of the two women who were taken up for disturbing a public meeting, and causing a commotion in the street. Not one word of the brutal treatment of the officials of the Liberals. Not a word of the refusal of a responsible man to answer a political question at a political meeting. No two women had dared ever before to stand up in free England and ask for liberty and freedom for women.

The proceedings of the Court were disgraceful. The Magistrate allowed the police to make statements about what happened inside the Hall, statements that were not true, but when we were being examined he refused to listen to a word from us about what happened in the Hall. He said we were guilty, and we were sent to prison in the lowest division of all which is for the lowest criminals. So began the active movement of women determined to fight for freedom.

Oh! you women of Germany, may your fight be easier than ours has been the last two years! Oh! how our hearts have ached and our souls grown sad seeing the great force of prejudice and custom in so deadly an array against us. But through all the clouds we have always seen the great light of truth leading us on to victory. The women's banner in every land must have banner

bearers, and they must be true to the cause, and true to each other. Women of Germany! I stand before you as one ready to face all for the freedom of women. I stand before you having promised to give my whole life to this movement until women are free. Therefore, I say to the German women: "Come out of your home, your workshop; come and stand by your leaders who are working and fighting for your freedom here in this great country."

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

For the Month of October (as far as at present arranged).

Oct.	1	Aberdeen Lewisham, "At Home"	Miss C. H. Pankhurst Mrs. Pankhurst	4.30.
Oct.	2	Dundee Putney, Westminster Paddington, Norman Hall	Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Mrs. Tanner, Dr. Jones Miss Nellie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond	7.30. 7.30.
Oct.	3	Lewisham Dunfermline	Mrs. Baldock Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8-10.
Oct.	4	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home" Brixton Glasgow, St. Andrew's Hall	Miss Nellie Kenney Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8-10.
Oct.	5	Barnes Pond Brighton Edinburgh	Mrs. Baldock Mrs. Martel Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	7.30.
Oct.	6	Bradford London, Hyde Park London, Victoria Park Blackheath, Whitfield's Mount	Miss A. Pankhurst Mrs. Pankhurst and others	7.0. 3 P.M.
Oct.	7	Quesbury London, "At Home," 4, Clements-inn London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting	Mrs. Baldock Mrs. Naylor Miss A. Pankhurst Miss. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst	3.30. 3.30. 4-6.
Oct.	8	Shoreditch, Debate Highgate, Open-air Meeting	Miss Macaulay Miss Nellie Kenney	8.00.
Oct.	9	Manchester Leeds Debate Halifax	Miss C. H. Pankhurst Miss A. Pankhurst Mrs. Martel Miss C. H. Pankhurst	8.00. 8.15.
Oct.	10	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting Putney, Weimar-road	Open-air Meeting—Dr. Jones and others Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m. 7.30.
Oct.	11	Leeds Professional Women's Meeting Walthamstow	Mrs. Martel Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	7.30.
Oct.	12	Sidecup Congregational Church, Station-road Brixton Idle (near Bradford) Debate	Miss Nellie Kenney Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Oct.	13	Barnes Pond Brighouse	Open-air Meeting Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30.
Oct.	14	London, Portman Rooms London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home," 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting	"At Home." Admission by ticket only Miss C. H. Pankhurst Mrs. Baldock	7.30. 8 p.m.
Oct.	15	London, Hyde Park London, Victoria Park Greenwich Ethical Society Chelsea, Drawing-room Meeting, 4, Trafalgar Studios	Miss C. H. Pankhurst Mrs. Baldock Mrs. Pankhurst Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3. 3.30. 3.30. 8 p.m.
Oct.	16	Ipswich	Mrs. Martel	8 p.m.
Oct.	17	Birmingham, "At Home," Grand Hotel	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst	3-6.
Oct.	18	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home," Highgate	Open-air Meeting Miss A. Pankhurst	8-10.
Oct.	19	Brighouse	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	7.30.
Oct.	20	Chelmsford Discussion Society Chelsea, Drawing-room Meeting, 4, Trafalgar Studios	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Oct.	21	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home," London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting	Open-air Meeting Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Oct.	22	Barnes Pond	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	7.30.
Oct.	23	London, Hyde Park London, Victoria Park Sowerby Bridge	Mrs. Baldock Miss A. Pankhurst	3. 3.30. 3.
Oct.	24	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home," London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting	Open-air Meeting Miss A. Pankhurst	7-6.
Oct.	25	Liverpool Radlett Congregational Church	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Miss Macaulay	8 p.m. 7.30.
Oct.	26	Putney, Weimar-road Paddington, corner of Elgin Avenue and Walerton-road	Open-air Meeting Open-air Meeting	7.30. 7.30.
Oct.	27	London, Hyde Park London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock	3 p.m. 3.30.
Oct.	28	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home," London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting	Open-air Meeting Miss C. H. Pankhurst	4-6. 8 p.m.
Oct.	29	Relate, Brighton	Mrs. Martel	8 p.m.
Oct.	30	Leeds, Theosophical Hall	Mrs. Martel	7.30.
Oct.	31	Kirkgate, Temperance Hall Putney, Weimar-road Paddington, corner of Elgin Avenue and Walerton-road Brighouse, Bowes Park	Mrs. Pankhurst Mrs. Martel Open-air Meeting Open-air Meeting Mrs. Martel	7.30. 7.30. 7.30. 7.30.
Nov.	1	QUEEN'S HALL MEETING, LONDON.	Chairman—Mrs. Pankhurst Speaker—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Mary E. Ganthorp, Mrs. Martel, Miss H. Pankhurst	8 p.m.

Tickets, 1s. 6d., 1s., and 1d., can be obtained from Mrs. Samuels, 4, Clements-inn, Strand, W.C.

WHAT THE VOTE MEANS.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

To this great Votes for Women Movement, there are many women who are still indifferent, and some who are directly hostile. Why? Because they do not understand what the vote means. They do not see that this is a question that touches them vitally at any point of their daily life. Their life is easy and comfortable. Their hearts are full of the love of husband, friends, and children. Their case is put by one woman who said to me, "I have no sympathy with what you are doing. I don't want a vote. I have my home, my garden, these beautiful trees that I love to look at. I have my little son. I care for love, for beauty and happiness. I don't want to be mixed up with political strife."

* * * * *

In a beautiful wood one day last spring a woman was gathering primroses. I can see her now, kneeling upon the blossom-starred ground, her hands full, her face upturned to the sunlight falling through the budding branches of the trees—the joy of a child's heart imparting a new softness to the prematurely worn and care-lined face. "How far away is all thought of political strife," she said to me; "how strange and unreal all our fight seems now, and here in this beautiful world one could give it all up so easily, and just be a child of the earth." "But," she added thoughtfully, "when you come to think of it, our Woman's Movement means just this—that every woman shall have the chance of picking primroses in a wood."

Yes, this is what it means: that beauty, love, and happiness are not the dower of the protected and privileged few only, but the inheritance of all the children born into this world, and it is the duty of the womanhood of the nation, the great potential motherhood of the country, to secure to every child of woman born this great birthright.

Oh, you women of Britain! if only you could understand, if only you could see what the vote really means! You happy mothers in your sweet and charming homes; you think (I know you do, many of you) that the women's vote would tend to draw women away from all that you believe is best and most sacred in life. But we know and see that the woman's vote could help to bring into the life of the nation something of your ideal, and put into the possession of many the chance of the sweetness and beauty that is in your own life.

You think that we who are striving for the vote want to be like men—want to do the work of men and play a man's part in life. But that is not so. On the contrary, we know that women and men are essentially different, have a different outlook upon the world, have different ideals and different conceptions of life. We do not want to be like men. We value too well our own womanhood. We do not want to do men's work. We want to do our own.

If men and women could be alike, if their point of view could be the same and their thoughts and work the same, there would not then be the need that there is now for women to be represented in the political and social development of the nation. It is because they are so essentially different in outlook and thought and life and service that a nation whose Government represents only the outlook and ideals of the male population suffers the same loss as a household that has a father but no mother at its head.

I have said that men and women are essentially different in their point of view. Now, I want to point

out just how this essential difference comes in, where questions of national development and growth are concerned. To men belong all sorts of different spheres. To men we owe mechanical and commercial development, trade enterprises, markets, ships, railways; all very important things essential to the prosperity and development of a nation.

What is to women the first consideration in all these questions? Human life. Behind the machinery, behind the markets, behind everything they see human beings. Do you understand why this is so? It is women who pay the price of human life. Those who pay the price know the worth of a thing. For every human being born into this world some woman has paid with her labour and her sorrow, sometimes with her life. To a woman the body of every little child is the hope of the future, the pledge of human evolution. The bodies and souls of the children are the greatest considerations in a nation's life, the happiness and well-being of the children its first care—the health and happiness and development of human beings are inseparable from a nation's greatness.

Now, we know that in matters of machinery and invention, in matters of markets and trade extension and development, in matters of science and discovery, our country has made enormous progress in the hands of men; but we see on all sides the wreckage of human life—stunted men, crushed and heartbroken women, and starving little children.

The woman's business, the woman's work has simply not been seen to. Because the women have not been there to do it. Women have been shut out of the national life. It is just as though all the mothers of all the homes in the country had been shipped off to some other land, and the men had been obliged to go to work and attend to their home and to the children as well as they could. You know what an unhappy and unsatisfactory state of things that would be.

The Unspoken Ideals of Women.

Deep down in the hearts of women there are thoughts that men do not think; there are ideals that men do not dream of. Women have never learned to express them. Their ideals have no counterpart in national life, and no place in the world as men have made it. Men do not know the deep things of the soul in women. The veil has never yet been drawn from the inner temple of the woman's being. Men do not guess at the treasures upon the altar there. The outside world is a man's world to-day. The woman only really lives within her own soul.

Every man's opinion is of value to the world. He is a voter or a potential voter; that is to say, a creator of his social environment.

But woman's opinion simply does not count. She is a passive being through whom man works out his conceptions of life. Self-expression is denied her. Her opinions are stupid and worthless, her ideals ridiculous and unpractical—so men have told her. So she even herself believes. She hides them, therefore, in her heart. And the world wends on its manly way, wondering at times why it goes round and does not go forward.

Now we are asking and working for the vote, because we know that the vote will help the woman's soul to find expression. Because manhood and womanhood are both essential to the human world, they are both essential to human development and human progress, which must come upon political and social lines.

YOU CAN OBTAIN
**"VOTES
FOR
WOMEN"**

From all Newsagents and Stationers, or from Local
W.S.P.U. Secretaries, or by post from
The Publisher, "VOTES FOR WOMEN,"
4, CLEMENT'S INN, W.C.

**Yearly Subscription, 4/- post free (or with Weekly
Supplements, 7/4).**

*Further Copies of the portrait of Mrs Pankhurst, which is being
presented with this number, can be obtained separately, price 1d. each,
or by post 1½d. Address: The Publisher, "VOTES FOR WOMEN," 4.
Clement's Inn, W.C.*

A PUBLIC MEETING
WILL BE HELD IN THE
QUEEN'S HALL,
ON
Monday, Nov. 11th, at 8 p.m.
TO DEMAND THE
Enfranchisement of Women

Chairman: Mrs. PANKHURST.

Speakers:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
Miss ANNIE KENNEY.
Miss MARY E. GAWTHORPE.
Mrs. MARTEL.
Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

TICKETS FOR

Numbered Sofa Stalls 2/6 and 1/-; Numbered Grand Circle, 2/6 and 1/-; Numbered Orchestra Seats 1/-; Reserved but Un-numbered, Orchestra, Area and Gallery 6d.

Can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. National Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

October, 1907.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE BATTLE CRY.

To women far and wide the trumpet call goes forth,
Come fight with us in our battle for freedom.

This is no ordinary petty conflict, the issue of which
can be decided by a few strenuous workers indifferently
and languidly supported.

This is a battle in which all must take part ; they must
come ready for active endeavour and for strenuous
service ; they must be prepared not to flinch in the hour of
difficulty or under temporary reverse, for the battle is not
to the weak or to the downhearted, or to the indifferent,
but to those who resolutely set before themselves the
determination of victory.

Come and join us, whatever your age, whatever your
class, whatever your political inclination.

Do not leave any of your womanliness behind when
you come into this movement. It is womanliness that we
look for in those that fight in our ranks.

Do not leave any of your mother's heart behind when
you come into this movement. It is for your motherhood
that the women in our ranks are fighting.

Do not leave your daughterhood, or sisterhood, or wife-
hood behind you when you come into this movement.
This is no anti-man crusade ; the women who take part
in it are fighting for their fathers, and husbands, and
brothers, as well as for themselves, because it will be a
good thing for men and women alike when their com-
bined point of view is recognised in the counsels of the
State,

But if you have any class feeling you must leave that
behind when you come into this movement. For the
women who are in our ranks know no barriers of class
distinction.

If you are tied to any men's political party you must
break that tie before you come into this movement. If
you feel that to do so would be dishonourable you must
stay outside our ranks. For in this movement women are
pledged to independence of all political parties till the vote
is won.

If you have any pettiness or personal ambition you
must leave that behind before you come into this move-
ment. There must be no conspiracies, no double dealing
in our ranks. Everyone must fill her part. The founders
and leaders of the movement must lead, the non-com-
missioned officers must carry out their instructions, the
rank and file must loyally share the burden of the fight.
For there is no compulsion to come into our ranks, but
those who come must come as soldiers ready to march
onwards in battle array.

The flag that flies above our heads is no common
emblem. To us the banner "Votes for Women" is a
sacred trust. For it is no trumpery prize, or advantage,
or dominion, for which we are contending. We fight for
nothing less than the emancipation of one-half of the
whole human race, and with this great aim in front, and
with our trusted banner above our heads, we go forward
with assurance to victory.

Supplement to "VOTES FOR WOMEN," October, 1907.



Photo, by Schmidt, Manchester.

MRS. PANKHURST.

(Founder of the Women's Social and Political Union.)



THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WITH the close of September and the commencement of October starts our great winter campaign for the Vote. The first week will be spent by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself in Scotland in carrying out the programme arranged by the Scottish contingent of the W.S.P.U. On October 1 we address a big meeting in Aberdeen, on October 2 we speak in Dundee, in Dunfermline on October 3, in Glasgow on October 4. On the Saturday there is to be the great joint procession through the streets of Edinburgh arranged in common by all the Suffrage Societies of Scotland, by several of the women's Liberal organisations, and by the men's league for woman's suffrage. In the evening there is to be a big indoor meeting, arrangements being made to accommodate several thousand people.

Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Meanwhile Annie Kenney is returning to the Rossendale Valley, where she is undertaking a campaign throughout the whole of Mr. Harcourt's constituency to rouse the people to the justice of the woman's cause, and to induce him to withdraw his opposition to their enfranchisement. Already during the last few days in September the ground has been prepared. As a result of her visit a little while back there are committees of women working in Bacup and Rawtenstall, and she expects during each of the next ten days to address meetings in the dinner hour and in the afternoon and evening. Miss Keeval has kindly volunteered to go with her to help her in the work.

Mrs. Martel is going to Halifax, where she will address a big public gathering on October 8, and during the following days she will devote herself to the other Yorkshire towns.

Miss Adela Pankhurst, who together with Mrs. Martel has been making excellent headway in Leeds—the constituency of another opponent, Mr. Herbert Gladstone—will also be in Yorkshire in the first half of October addressing meetings in Bradford, Elland, Marsden, and Halifax.

Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, though progressing steadily after her operation, will not be in a position for some little time yet to come into active work. But when she returns it will be with renewed vigour, and a determination to fight through to the end.

London.

Mrs. Drummond has been carrying on some very interesting work in London. In conjunction with Mrs. Baldock and an army of highly efficient voluntary speakers and workers, she has conducted a big open-air campaign, in which many new members have been made and literature disseminated. On Saturday afternoons she has conducted a party of suffragette bicycle scouts. All these meetings will be continued through October.

The fine weather has brought a much larger number of visitors to Earl's Court. And the "Votes for Women" stall in the Exhibition has been more widely patronised than ever. The weekly takings from literature and collections now amount to close upon £4, which is the highest on record since the stall was opened. With the closing of the Exhibition on October 19, Mrs. Leigh proposes to make a fresh departure by organising a band of women who will sell "Votes for Women" literature in the streets where women congregate to shop.

October 12, the anniversary of the first imprisonment

of Annie Kenney and myself, is to be celebrated by an "At Home," which the members of the Committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union are giving to the friends of the movement in the Portman Rooms, Baker-street, W., at 8 p.m. As it is their wish to invite to this gathering all those members and friends who would like to be present, anyone desiring to have a card of admission is invited to write to me or to the Hon. Secretary at 4, Clements Inn.

A Campaign in Industrial Centres.

On October 17 Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are giving an "At Home" at the Grand Hotel, Birmingham. Mrs. Baines will shortly be going to that town to arouse among the women there fresh interest in the suffrage, and it is hoped that following on the "At Home" there will be a very large number of people in the Town Hall at the big meeting on November 20.

Miss Nell Kenney is going to Bristol to work up a big meeting which is to be held there on November 8—the same day on which the Prime Minister is to visit the town.

During the third week of October Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is undertaking a campaign in Lancashire, commencing with a meeting in Liverpool on October 22, and following with meetings in Preston on the 23rd and Manchester the 24th, while Friday the 25th is fixed for a grand demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, which is being organised by the combined suffrage societies.

In London the Sunday meetings in Hyde Park and Victoria Park, which have been so successful all through the summer, will be continued so long as the fine weather lasts, and on week days there will be drawing-room meetings and public meetings every day of the month. It is interesting to notice that the churches are coming forward to open their doors to the movement. On October 10 Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been invited to speak in the Congregational Church at Sidcup, and on October 22 Miss Macaulay is addressing an audience in the Radlett Church belonging to the same denomination.

The Monday afternoon "At Homes" in Clements Inn continue to attract from a hundred to a hundred and fifty women every week, and in addition we are opening the offices every Thursday evening for an "At Home," where we can meet those to whom the later hour is found to be preferable. New faces, as well as those of our old friends, are always welcome.

Preparations for November.

Active preparations are being made in advance for the month of November. I have already referred to the meeting in Birmingham on November 20; and that in Bristol on November 8. In addition, our energetic workers in Leicester are busy preparing for a great demonstration on November 14 in the Free Trade Hall, Leicester, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself. And finally there is the public meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, on Monday, November 11, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, and myself will be among the speakers, and when we hope to welcome back to our active ranks our comrade Mary E. Gawthorpe. As it is expected that the hall will be packed on that occasion, applications for tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., or 6d., should be made to Mrs. Sanders, 4, Clements Inn, or to the box office, Queen's Hall, without delay.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT,

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. Chapter I.—*The Battle of Peterloo.*

In a history of the suffrage movement it is not necessary to go back further than the agitation which preceded the Reform Act of 1832. Before that time women possessed and exercised, as is well known, the same voting rights as men. These were, however, almost entirely confined to the rich and influential classes, and as women are seldom property-owners, only a very small percentage of them could in those days be qualified to vote.

During the latter half of the 18th century the need for political reform began to be felt, and the movement towards it grew steadily until the war with Napoleon withdrew all attention from home affairs. After the close of the war increased taxation began to press heavily on the poorer people, trade depression followed, and a poor harvest in 1816 increased the evil. The price of wheat went up to 10s. a quarter, wages went down, and large bodies of unemployed roamed about from place to place looking for work.

In the midst of all this poverty the people, seeing the misgovernment of the country, pinned their faith on political reform, and cried out for the power to remedy these evils for themselves. Men and women in large and ever-increasing numbers began to agitate for universal suffrage and vote by ballot. Clubs for these purposes were formed all over the country, especially in the North of England. The movement culminated at a mass meeting in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester.

Summoning the Meeting.

The three previous years had been a period of great poverty and distress in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and here, too, the spirit of discontent and desire for reform was most pronounced. It was at first decided to call the meeting for July 23, and advertisements were published to this effect, setting forth also that the objects of the meeting were to consider the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining radical reform in the "Commons House of Parliament," and also "to consider the propriety of the unrepresented inhabitants of Manchester electing a person to represent them in Parliament, and the adopting of Major Cartwright's Bill." It was, however, decided by the magistrates and other persons in authority in Manchester that this meeting would be illegal, and bills were posted up to this effect. The meeting was therefore abandoned, and a requisition was addressed to the Boroughreeve, requiring that he should convene a meeting for discussing the grievances of the people and obtaining Parliamentary reform. This the Boroughreeve refused to do. It was thereupon decided to call a meeting for Monday, August 19, and for this purpose an advertisement, signed by more than 700 persons, was published as follows:—

A requisition having been presented to the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, signed by 700 inhabitant householders in a few hours, requesting them to call a public meeting "to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform in the Commons House of Parliament," and they having declined to call such meeting, therefore the undersigned requisitionists give notice that a public meeting will be held on the area near St. Peter's Church, on Monday, the 16th inst.

This meeting was attended by between 80,000 and 100,000 persons—men, women, and children—who were gathered together there from Oldham, Rochdale, Middleton, Stockport, and all the surrounding towns.

We hear that the people came marching "in beautiful order," with banners waving and flags flying to separate the different townships.

We are told, too, how the inhabitants of Lees, of Moseley, of Royton, and Saddleworth, 5,000 or 6,000 of them, met on Oldham green at 8 o'clock in the morning, and how both young and old marched thence to St. Peter's Fields, a distance of between seven and eight miles. There were 1,000 women and girls in this company, most of them dressed in white, and many of the women carried babies in their arms.

The various banners and flags were inscribed with the name of the town or village from which they came, and with such mottoes as "Liberty or Death" and "Equal Representation." These banners were of all colours—red, yellow, white, or black—and many of them were surmounted by the cap of liberty. *They were mostly borne by women.* The Failsworth banner, we are told, was carried by 20 girls.

Many of the companies were headed by bands, and a bugle was sounded as a signal to march on, or to call a halt. When those who came from that direction arrived at New Cross in Manchester they met four men on horseback whom they believed to be magistrates. The people stopped and called to each other that those who carried sticks to aid them in walking should throw them away, as it was feared "that something was hatching."

On St. Peter's Fields a hustings had been formed by a number of carts. Here the people assembled and planted the long staves of the banners in the ground around the carts. About 100 yards from the hustings on the edge of St. Peter's Fields was the house of a Mr. Buxton. This house had been taken by the magistrates of the city, in order that they might be at hand to observe the assembled multitude on that day. A double line of about 300 police was formed between Mr. Buxton's house, where the magistrates were, and the hustings, so as to keep a clear passage way from one to the other. This line, however, did not quite reach either the hustings or to Mr. Buxton's house, but left a space of about four or five yards between at either end.

Attacked by the Yeomanry

The people had begun to arrive on the ground soon after ten, and at midday vast crowds had assembled. At one o'clock Messrs. Henry Hunt, Richard Carlisle, Moorhouse, Johnson, and Knight drove up in an open carriage with a number of ladies, one of whom sat upon the box-seat, dressed in white, and holding a banner. Large numbers of people followed them, and a great cheer greeted their arrival. Hunt was elected as chairman. He had been speaking about five minutes when between 60 and 70 of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry were seen coming up to the ground at a quick trot. They formed in line before Mr. Buxton's house, and then, almost without pausing, galloped forward into the midst of the assembled multitude. They were followed almost immediately by a troop of the 15th Hussars, and some of the Cheshire Yeomanry.

Hunt called to the people to stand firm, and said "There is a pretty sight for you! Give them a cheer." The soldiers came on cutting to right and left with their sabres, striking at the peoples' heads, and riding them down under their horses' hoofs, whilst men, women, and children ran shrieking from the field. We are told by

the police that, to protect the speakers from arrest, men linked arms in rows 12 deep around the hustings. If this was so, however, their resistance was unavailing, for the flags and banners were seized, the speakers were knocked off the hustings, Hunt, Moorhouse, Johnson, and Knight were arrested, and the meeting put to flight within eight minutes of the cavalry forming up before Mr. Buxton's house.

Before this, however, two regiments of infantry had been drawn up across the fields, blocking up the two main outlets by which the crowd could disperse. The people, in endeavouring to escape from the pursuing soldiery, hid behind trees, under shrubs and bushes, and many of them climbed the wall 10 ft. 3 in. in height, which surrounded the Quaker's Meeting House, situated on the outskirts of the fields far away from the hustings.

It is said that 14 persons were killed, and 600 or 700 seriously injured.

Hunt and the others who had been arrested were tried for sedition, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. An inquest was held at Oldham on one of the persons killed on St. Peter's Fields, and there were various attempts to make this the subject of a criminal action. These were, however, unsuccessful.

Subsequently Redford, a journeyman hatter, of Middleton, brought an action for assault against three persons: Hugh Hornby Birley, captain of the Manchester Yeomanry, Mr. Richard Withington, another officer of the Yeomanry, Edward Meagher, a trumpeter in the corps, and Alexander Oliver, one of the privates. This was tried at Lancaster from April 4 to April 9, 1822, before Mr. Justice Holroyd and a special jury. This action was lost chiefly on the ground that the meeting, though not in itself illegal, was, as Mr. Hulton, the chairman of the committee of magistrates, said in his evidence at the trial, "part of a great scheme carrying on throughout the country."

The evidence at this trial is exceedingly interesting. From it one gathers that the magistrates were alarmed at the size of the meeting, and therefore issued a warrant for the arrest of the speakers. The police refused to execute it without the assistance of the military, and, therefore, the Rev. Mr. Ethelstone, one of the magistrates, read the Riot Act from a window in Mr. Buxton's house, which was situated on the edge of the field 100 yards from the hustings. This was only heard by one person, the Rev. Mr. Hay, vicar of Rochdale, who was in the room at the time.

The words of the defending counsel, Mr. Serjeant Hullock, are worthy of remembrance, and are instructive to suffragists at the present day. He said, "If deliberation had been their object could they not have settled their petition in a private room, and then sent it to the House of Commons, where it would have been read, and laid on the table, and never heard of again?"

After the Battle of Peterloo, as the massacre on St. Peter's Field was afterwards called, six repressive measures were enacted by Parliament, in order to put down the reform agitation.

The people were, however, determined to secure extension of the franchise, and in 1832 the Reform Act was passed.

This Act, which so materially improved the position of the men of the middle and working-classes, did less than nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them in obtaining it. It took away, by the use of the phrase "male persons," even the small electoral power which they had before possessed, and for the first time in English history shut women out entirely from all part or lot in the government of the country.

(To be continued.)

WOMEN MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS.

WOMEN in various parts of the country are losing no time in taking advantage of the Act qualifying them to stand as candidates for Local Councils, and in the November Municipal Elections it is expected that several women will offer themselves for Councillors. Though it is too early yet to be able to give definite figures, the following will be interesting to readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

In the Wycliffe Ward of Leicester the local Women's Social and Political Union are putting forward Miss Carryer to contest the seat with the sitting Councillor, Mr. Lovell. They are issuing the following election address:

MUNICIPAL ELECTION, 1907.

Women Electors of Wycliffe Ward, Leicester.

For the first time since you obtained the municipal franchise you have the opportunity of using your votes to return a woman to the Town Council.

It is most important, in the interest of women of all classes, that you should vote for Miss Carryer, the candidate of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Matters deeply affecting women are decided by the Town Council. Women members on the Town Council would work to get for women some of the following reforms in local administration.

HOUSING.

Bye-laws to compel all builders of cottage houses to supply better sanitary conveniences, a bath in every house, hot and cold water supply.

Municipal houses wherever the private owners fail to meet the needs of the community.

Municipal lodging-houses for women and municipal houses for poor widows with families.

Equal opportunities of elementary, secondary, and technical teaching for boys and girls.

EDUCATION.

Equal pay for women teachers. At present women teachers who do exactly the same work as the men teachers, receive much less pay. An educated woman often gets less money than an unskilled man labourer.

Better schools and cleaner. Every school should have in addition to a large central hall, a sufficient number of airy and well-lighted class-rooms. A dining-room for children who cannot return home to the mid-day meal should be attached to every school, and advantage should be taken of the Act for the feeding of school children.

Proper provision of playgrounds both in and out of school hours.

THE STREETS.

To prevent disease the streets should be kept clean and free from infectious matter.

A better supply of free sanitary conveniences for women is urgently needed.

Control by women of police administration is needed to prevent the danger of tyranny and injustice to poor and unfortunate women.

SANITARY INSPECTION.

More women inspectors are urgently needed, and they need to be better paid for the very important work they do.

MIDWIVES' REGISTRATION ACT.

The work of midwifery is now controlled by the Corporation, who appoint inspectors. These inspectors should be qualified women. It is work which affects women, and cannot be properly done by men.

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.

Women are need on the Council to secure that the many women who are employed as clerks, caretakers, cleaners, &c., shall be paid a living wage. Much has been done to make the municipality a model employer of men, but little or nothing has been done for women.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

Women Councillors could work to make the Council petition Parliament to give those women who as householders vote for the Council the Parliamentary vote, which, although they are qualified, is still denied them.

Women of Leicester! vote for the woman candidate, and take your right share in the government of your town.

Activity at Huddersfield.

At a recent meeting of the Huddersfield Women's Suffrage Society, the hon. secretary (Mrs. Helen Studdard) was requested to write to the secretaries of the political party organisations at Huddersfield, stating that the association did not desire to remove any of the present municipal representatives, but trusted that, when vacancies arose, the respective parties would give some opportunity for candidatures of women, and support such candidates.

The German Conference.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

DOES it not seem sometimes as though heaven itself stoops to lay at one's feet the gift of an absolutely perfect day. From dawn till dusk, from rise of sun till the moon rides high, the hours are like beautiful jewels strung upon a chain of gold.

Two such days fell to the lot of Annie Kenney and myself as we loitered on our way to Frankfurt. The Rhine, older than Wotan and Walhalla, gave us something of his own eternal youth as we were borne southward upon his breast. Then where the tributary Maine flows into the great river we had to bid him farewell, and a few hours' journey brought us to Frankfurt, the old free city, the historic home of German culture, the birth and dwelling place of Germany's greatest poet, Goethe.

Annie Kenney and I went there as the invited guests of the German Union for Women's Suffrage to take part in their Conference—held from 25th to 30th of September. We were welcomed by Fräulein Anita Augspurg, doctor of jurisprudence, the president of the union, and by the vice-president, Fräulein Lida Gustava Heyman.

The German suffrage movement is young. It was only founded in 1902. It took root first in North Germany, and is now only beginning to spread to the south. Its founders have an immense task to accomplish. They have to break up new ground throughout the vast territory of the German Empire, with its varying nationalities and varying local laws and traditions. They have disabilities and difficulties quite unknown to English women. In Prussia there is a law which forbids women even to attend a political meeting. And the police have only to order the women to leave a public assembly and they have to obey. Obedience to male authority is so ingrained into the nature of every child that even the strongest and most intellectual women can hardly throw off an instinctive subservience to men. Open-air meetings are illegal, and the local prejudice against any assertion of women's right to freedom is immense.

In South Germany so-called universal suffrage has been obtained; but, as usual, the adjective "universal" in this connection does not apply to women, any more than the noun "persons" applies to women in our English suffrage laws. Every man, no matter how ignorant, how irresponsible, is a citizen and a voter, every woman, no matter how intellectual, or gifted, or great-hearted, is politically of no account whatever; and the women of Germany dare not even go to their masters, the men in the street, to plead their cause with them.

There are times when the forces opposed to us in the battle which we in our own country are now fighting seem overwhelmingly strong; but when one realises the infinitely harder conditions under which our women comrades in Germany have to enter into the conflict, we have to wonder and admire the resolution and the courage with which they have grasped the banner of women's freedom.

The Leader of the German Movement.

Dr. Anita Augspurg is a leader of whom not only the German women, but all women in the world, may well be proud. One feels that she has taken up the "white woman's burden" with the fullest knowledge of its weight, and with the steadfast purpose never again to lay it down till victory crowns her efforts, or until death takes it from her shoulders. Intellectual and moral power and authority, resolution, endurance, courage, and sweetness are stamped upon her personality. Hers is the type of mind that conceives this great question of women's emancipation from the broadest national and international point of view.

By her side stands her friend, Fräulein Lida Gustava Heyman, and many other gifted women, with the light of battle in their eyes. There is splendid stuff in the German woman movement. "You are *Suffragettes*," we told them, "we shall always think of you as *Suffragettes*, not Suffragists." That pleased them greatly. "It is the greatest compliment you could have given us," they said, "we feel very proud that you should say that."

On September 25 the union was formally welcomed by the

City Council of Frankfurt, and other prominent associations in the town. During two days the Conference was occupied with its own special business. They have just the same difficulties as we have at home. There are the Social Democrats, whose feeling of class bitterness drives them to resent the union of women of all classes on the ground of their common womanhood, which is penalised by common political outlawry. Although the demand of the German Union is for *real* universal suffrage (the word universal to be extended to include women), they are violently opposed and bitterly taunted with being a middle-class movement, and the cry "Votes for Ladies" is hurled at them by men and women who are possessed by the spirit of class hatred, and resent the idea of anything like sex unity.

Men who profess to be the best friends of the movement urge the same old arguments and objections which we have to meet so constantly. They say that women are the worst enemies, that women are indifferent to their own freedom. We know all the stock-in-trade objections of these gentlemen—"Women must go and convert their own sex"—and all that sort of thing. Then, again, men urge them to concentrate on getting other reforms first, in securing better education for women, better economic conditions, higher moral standards—after which the vote will follow as a matter of course. It is both interesting and diverting to hear the same stale old objections and arguments which have stood the opposition in good stead for thirty years in our own country, being enunciated in exactly the same form by the belated wiseacres of Germany.

The Great Public Meeting.

On Thursday night a public meeting was held in the great hall of the Junghofstrasse, which holds about 2,000 people. It was crowded with men and women, every seat filled, and many people standing. Dr. Anita Augspurg took the chair, and made a powerful speech and appeal. She spoke of the imminent danger of the repressive laws of Prussia against women being introduced into South Germany, and urged all men and women who loved liberty and desired progress to awake to the necessity of strenuous resistance. Erudition, legal and political knowledge, deep earnestness, and sincerity marked her speech throughout, in which calm self-control only served to emphasise the passion which one felt lay underneath. Dr. Gertrude Woker, of Berne, Switzerland, gave a very beautiful address on the general aspect of the question.

Then Dr. Anita Augspurg introduced Annie Kenney, telling the audience something of the story of her life, and how she had three times suffered imprisonment for the cause. The speech which Miss Kenney gave is reproduced on pp. 3, 4 of this paper. Though it was delivered in English, it was followed by the whole of the vast audience with wrapt attention, and there was no need for translation. When she had finished, the audience broke into prolonged cheering, which continued till Dr. Augspurg had to grasp the big bell and ring for order, to give the announcement of the next speaker. Before introducing me to the meeting, Dr. Augspurg told the story of the 1,000 police, on horse and on foot, called out to protect 600 members of Parliament from a hundred such women as Annie Kenney and myself. The meeting shouted with laughter.

My speech was given in German. I told the story of the development of our Women's Social and Political Union, and gave facts and figures illustrating our growth and progress. Again and again I had to wait and let the laughter die down before I could go on. The audience was greatly tickled over the story of the Press misrepresentation, and the way our purpose had been served by it; how the newspapers had played their part in our game to perfection, giving us the most wonderful free advertisement that ever had been accorded to any undertaking.

After the meeting several women began to discuss whether the time had not come for German women to follow our example. They could do it very easily, of course. They have only to hold an open-air meeting anywhere, and refuse to move at the command of the police. Whether or not the time or the conditions of the German movement are ripe for such a move as this, only they can judge.

The thing that touched us more than all during our visit was the constant expression of the feeling of the German women, that we are fighting their battle as well as our own, and that they have to look to us. Not till our victory is won will their victory come in sight.

THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Notes of Meetings and Announcements and other Contributions for this page should be posted to The Editor, "Votes for Women," 4, Clement's Inn, W.C., so as to arrive not later than Saturday morning in each week to be in time for insertion in the following number.

Brixton.

Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nell Kenney spoke at an open-air meeting in this district on September 26 to a large and attentive audience, and after questions had been dealt with a gentleman in the crowd handed 10s. to the speaker for the funds.

Deptford.

A very large open-air meeting has been held in the Market-place; the enthusiasm ran high, and questions to the point were asked and answered very ably by Miss Nell Kenney. Mrs. Drummond also spoke, and got a good hearing.

Harrow Road.

All through the summer there have been splendid outdoor meetings, with average attendances of 300 or 400, and good literature sales and collections. In August, during the absence of the officers, they were conducted with marked success by Mrs. Dale and Mrs. Clayton. At a recent meeting in September Mrs. Baldock, Miss Lamb, and Miss Keevil were the speakers, and a splendid reception they had from the crowd.

Our autumn campaign starts October 2 with a meeting in the Norman Hall, Harrow-road, Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nellie Kenney are to speak, while I act as "chairman."

We have November 6 and December 4 booked for meetings, and we are hoping to have a monster demonstration about the middle of November in the district.

On Monday, November 4, we hope to hold a "Rummage Sale," in order to raise funds for our work. Parcels of clothing are most urgently needed for the sale, and should be sent carriage paid to Mrs. L. C. Cullen, c/o Mr. Norman, 252, Harrow-road, Paddington, W.

Also we appeal to friends to come along and help us on the day of the sale. Will all those who can do so please communicate with me as soon as possible? L. C. CURRIN.

Kensington.

The Kensington W.S.P.U. has been busy planning its autumn work. It hopes to carry on an active campaign in Kensington during the coming months by a series of drawing-room meetings, the first of which is to take place on October 8 at 41, Gwendyr-road, by kind invitation of Mrs. Rogers, and at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak.

Two large meetings have been planned, one in Kensington Town Hall on October 24 and one in the Queen's Gate Hall on December 10, fuller particulars of which will be announced later.

L. M. EATES, Hon. Sec.

Walthamstow.

An open-air meeting was held recently at the station, which was well attended, the speakers being Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nell Kenney—Miss Lightman in the chair. The speeches were listened to with great attention. Literature was sold and a tea taken.

Opies Speaking in London.

In accordance with the policy of the education of the people in Women's Franchise, street-corner meetings have been in full swing in all parts of London. Putney, Highgate, Barnes, Paddington, Brixton, and Lewisham are only some of the places that have been touched.

I have helped the Putney, Barnes, and Highgate ones, each of which has been held weekly during the summer months.

It only needs a suffragette to stand on a chair in the roadway to attract a large audience, and that more than mere curiosity arises in the people is shown by the fact that they stand eagerly listening for one and a-half to two hours, and as point often mentioned by the speakers, "Hear, hear" comes from the audience, with occasionally a dissentient note, and during question time knotty points are brought up for elucidation.

Last Wednesday at Putney a crowd had already gathered before we arrived, and I heard one or two disappointed voices say, "Are they not coming to-night?" and through the evening the crowd of about 500 people listened with great attention, and the element of rowdyism which has occasionally been present there was conspicuous by its absence.

H. G. JONES.

Suffragette Scouts.

THE Saturday bicycle meetings of the Suffragette scouts are proving a great success. Each week a party of 10 to 15 women meet at two o'clock, at the Court Theatre, Sloane-square, and cycle to one of the outer suburbs of the metropolis, where a meeting in favour of votes for women is held in the open air.

On September 7 the run was to Harrow, and a most successful gathering was the result. Miss Home and Miss House were the speakers. On September 14 the destination was Redhill, Mrs. Baldock and Miss Nellie Kenney conducting the meeting. The dates so far fixed in October are October 5, to Woolwich-square, and October 19, to Wimbledon.

Miss Adela Pankhurst in Yorkshire.

MEETINGS have been held during the last week of September in Bradford and in Halifax.

On Monday night, September 23, the Co-operative Guild in West Bowling, Bradford, listened to an address on "Votes for Women." Several new members were made, and much interest expressed by those present. The Bradford literature stall is kept going in the market on Saturday evenings.

The open-air meetings held by the W. S. and P. U. in Halifax were the largest known there for any purpose. On Wednesday evening the Co-operative women heard a lecture on "Women's Work," where the need for the vote was pointed out.

On Friday evening the headmistresses of the Halifax Elementary Schools met to discuss the question of Women's Suffrage. The Halifax papers have given a good account of the speeches.

AT HOME IN HOVE.

A VERY successful "At Home" was given in the Hove Town Hall on Saturday afternoon by one of our most enthusiastic Brighton members, Miss Bertha Webb, to about 160 of her personal friends, amongst them the usual sprinkling of men. Quite half the number present were at the commencement either opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women, or confessed themselves ignorant on the subject, and at best only mildly interested, but at the close of the "At Home" quite a large proportion of those who had attended spoke of their awakened interest, and of their determination to put themselves into communication with 4, Clements Inn.

In the course of her most able and convincing address Miss Pankhurst emphasised the necessity for the sheltered woman to awake to the inglorious nature of her position before the law, where she is placed in the same category as infants, lunatics, and criminals, and also to her selfishness in refusing to recognise that, whilst she is happily circumstanced, with everything to make life easy and pleasant for her, numberless women are merely existing, engaged in an hourly struggle with misery and starvation.

At the close of the speech a few questions were asked and answered by Miss Pankhurst, chiefly relating to the bye-election policy. Two gentlemen present, obviously strong Liberals, resented this policy, and one was heard to remark that it was undoubtedly injuring the Government.

A vote of thanks to Miss Webb for her kindness in making such a successful meeting possible, and to Miss Pankhurst for her speech, was proposed by Mrs. McKeown, and seconded by Mrs. Martindale, who both spoke shortly.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

THE procession and the meetings before, are what we are all talking of and working for in Scotland. The 5th promises to be an historic day in suffrage annals here. We are going to have representatives of almost every county, as well as from our cities, and we will have in the procession most of the women who have distinguished themselves in progressive movements in Scotland. We sent to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman a request, signed by a great many distinguished Scotswomen, many of them Liberal, asking him to receive a deputation of his countrywomen on the 5th.

The following reply was received, dated September 27:—

Belmont Castle, Meigle, Scotland.

DEAR MADAM,

I must apologise for having failed to observe that in the memorial you sent to me some time ago, signed by several influential members of Women's Societies in Scotland, you requested me to receive a deputation next week in Edinburgh. There has been some correspondence regarding the possibility of my attending a meeting of your friends, and I laid aside your letter as being concerned with the same matter.

I regret that the same reasons which obliged me to decline coming to your meeting equally compel me to ask you to excuse me from receiving a deputation. I have as much on hand on the 5th as I can undertake.

Besides, I do not see that any good would arise from a deputation, as I am well aware of your desires, and I have frequently expressed my own views on the subject.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

In reply, Mrs. Pearce pointed out that he had overlooked the fact that the deputation was not for the purpose of hearing pious opinions of goodwill or his own personal views, but to have a pronouncement as to the Government's intentions of dealing with this Liberal measure—which, from his own letter, we gather they have no intention of doing.

Any woman who is foolish enough to believe in the sincerity of his support or of his party's does not deserve a vote, and runs very little chance of getting it.

Miss Grace Paterson, Miss Burnett, Miss Olive Robertson, and others are all busy helping in Glasgow to raise numbers for the procession, and the Men's League meeting on the 4th in St. Andrew's Hall promises to be very successful. I was in Kilmarnock last Monday evening, and had a good meeting. On Wednesday I went to Dunfermline to help Miss Munro with a meeting at Lochgelly—a very successful one. The branch there has run open-air meetings every night for three weeks, and hopes to have a very successful meeting on October 2, and a large number for Edinburgh.

At Dundee on Thursday evening we had a splendid meeting, Mrs. MacLeod Easson in the chair, and Miss Husband also speaking. Dundee is now a thoroughly sympathetic town, and the feeling of the huge crowds we get is delightful.

I had a co-operative meeting in Springburn, Glasgow, on Friday evening to induce more women to "process," and all the week I have been sending out railway tickets, notices, &c., for the procession.

Aberdeen begins the meetings on Tuesday, and we feel sure this week's work in Scotland will do much.

We have had many notices already in the Press about our procession—paragraphs grave and gay—and by the time next Saturday is over we hope to have a much more sympathetic Press and public all over Scotland. Mrs. Bell and the Edinburgh Committee are very busy. Miss Milne Chapman is our marshal next Saturday, and our rallying place is the Parade Ground at that old Palace of Holyrood, whose name will be ever linked with that of Mary Stuart. Our procession will be past historic palace and castle, along the most beautiful street in the world, finishing with a meeting in a hall of the churches.

History, romance, and religion, the memories of old battles, of daring sallies, of "lost ladies of old years," of John Knox, and the reformers of old days will be with us, and now through this town these women, who see that they also must follow truth, will take their place upon the stage of history, and will come out to show that they fight to lay foundations of equality, upon which we may build the Golden Age of Freedom. And who shall say that they are not so great as the greatest of the figures that have moved upon that stage?

HELEN FRASER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND

During the Month of September.

	£	s.	d.	
Up to August 31 ..	2,524	18	0	Miss Alberta Russell ..
Mrs. Lightman ..	0	5	0	Miss Amy White ..
Mrs. Catherine Manson ..	1	0	0	Mrs. Ellen Souch ..
Tottenham Branch W.S.P.U.	0	5	0	Miss Louise Edwards ..
Miss Jessie E. Carter ..	0	5	0	Miss J. G. Riddoch ..
Mrs. Peggy ..	9	0	0	Miss G. Alger Coombs ..
Miss G. Keevil ..	1	0	0	Miss Caroline Coombs ..
Mrs. Martin White ..	10	0	0	Miss Louisa Hart ..
Miss G. D. Bevan ..	1	0	0	Mrs. Marianne Masters ..
Miss Emily Grenfell Hill ..	1	0	0	Miss Mabel Bayne ..
Rochdale Branch W.S.P.U.	0	6	6	Miss E. B. New ..
Miss Cox ..	1	0	0	Miss Nellie E. Smith ..
Mrs. Beatrice Sanders ..	3	10	0	Mrs. A. S. Foresnew ..
Mrs. Stratford Dugdale ..	0	10	0	Miss Margaret Smith ..
Mrs. Singer ..	3	3	0	Mrs. Mary Clarke ..
Liverpool Branch W.S.P.U.	0	8	0	Mrs. Elizabeth Smith ..
Mrs. Esther Wood ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Tucker ..
Miss O. Waller ..	1	10	0	Mrs. A. M. Montagu ..
Northern Heights Branch W.S.P.U. ..	0	10	0	Miss Chapman ..
Miss J. S. Dugdale ..	0	10	0	Miss Margaret Cameron ..
Mrs. and Miss A. Kenney ..	0	1	0	Mrs. S. Leigh ..
Mrs. E. Harris ..	0	1	0	Miss S. Jessie Stephenson ..
Guarantee Fund (weekly)	11	3	0	Mrs. E. Dugdale ..
Mrs. F. W. Jones ..	0	5	0	Miss M. Jackson ..
Miss C. A. Jones ..	0	5	0	Miss F. E. Bonwick ..
John Parnall, Esq. ..	1	1	0	Miss A. M. Pease ..
Miss Florence Haig ..	1	0	0	Miss Maggie Chandler ..
Mrs. Frances Milner ..	0	1	0	Miss Jane E. Brown ..
Miss Alice Cobbeit ..	0	1	0	Mrs. Marion Drake ..
Miss A. Wentworth ..	0	1	0	Mrs. E. Dunkley ..
Mrs. Stephens ..	0	1	0	Mrs. Kathleen Tanner ..
Miss Mary Imray ..	0	1	0	Miss Gladice Keevil ..
Mrs. Baker ..	1	1	0	Miss Una Stratford Dugdale ..
Mrs. Margaret Chandler ..	0	5	0	Miss Edith English ..
Miss Louisa Dulley ..	0	10	0	Mrs. Marjorie Clifton ..
Mrs. Maund ..	1	0	0	Miss Mary Forster ..
Miss A. Hamilton ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Susan Bennett ..
Mrs. Augusta Forrer ..	1	0	0	Miss Ada Adelaide Lamb ..
Mrs. Maria Ledsam ..	5	0	0	Miss Gertrude Bennett ..
Mrs. Hartley ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Amy B. Norman ..
Mrs. C. E. Stanfield ..	1	0	0	Miss Caroline A. Phillips ..
Mrs. Rose O'Neill ..	0	0	0	Mrs. Lilla Pratt ..
Guarantee Fund (weekly)	2	0	6	Mrs. Graham ..
Miss Una Dugdale ..	1	0	0	Miss L. M. Bull ..
Mrs. Dugdale ..	1	0	0	Miss Annis Newton ..
Miss J. S. Dugdale ..	1	0	0	Miss Norah Newton ..
Miss D. S. Dugdale ..	1	0	0	Miss Ethel Newton ..
Miss Helen Smith ..	1	0	0	Miss Charlotte Swinden ..
Miss Pauline Hull ..	10	0	0	Miss Margaret H. Dobson ..
Collecting Card, per Miss Janet Manson ..	0	2	10	Mrs. Mary Butler ..
Mrs. H. Wilkinson Lawley ..	0	6	6	Mrs. Marshall ..
Mrs. Toyne ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Louisa Annie Williams ..
Miss C. Mackenzie ..	5	0	0	Mrs. M. A. Taylor ..
Mrs. Stevens ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Lily Roberts ..
Miss Constance E. Andrews ..	0	2	0	Mrs. Emily Goodison ..
Mrs. A. M. Montague ..	0	5	0	Mrs. M. E. Grew ..
Guarantee Fund (weekly)	1	4	11	Mrs. L. Glyde ..
Miss Evelyn Morrison ..	0	2	6	Mrs. E. Bottomley ..
Mrs. Emily Nourse ..	0	2	6	Mrs. Annie W. Batchelor ..
Mrs. Russell Scott ..	1	0	0	Miss J. E. Campbell ..
Mrs. Lucy Williams ..	0	5	0	Miss Eva J. Lishman ..
Chelsea W.S.P.U. ..	1	0	0	Miss Florence M. Lishman ..
Mrs. Marion Drake ..	0	5	0	Miss Marion Gibson ..
Anon ..	0	10	0	Mrs. Rowe ..
Collections, &c. ..	14	0	3	Mrs. Denton-Funnell ..
PLEDGE FEES.				Miss Lightman ..
Mrs. Katherine McDiarmid ..	0	1	0	Miss Eleana Evans ..
Mrs. Michael ..	0	1	0	Miss Marie E. Naylor ..
Miss Michael ..	0	1	0	Mrs. Emily Nourse ..
Mrs. Blues ..	0	2	0	Mrs. Frances Handcock ..
Mrs. J. A. East ..	0	1	0	Miss Ella Gritten ..
Miss R. M. Billinghurst ..	0	1	0	Miss J. Richardson ..
Miss Alice Billinghurst ..	0	1	0	Miss Kate Griffiths ..
Mrs. Anna McLeod ..	0	1	0	Mrs. Sarah A. Stacey ..
Mrs. M. A. Morris ..	0	1	0	Mrs. L. Lee ..
Mrs. R. Grady ..	0	1	0	Mrs. M. Chandler ..
Miss Frances Marquardt ..	0	1	6	Mrs. L. Copston Turner ..
Miss Marion Price ..	0	1	0	Miss Eveline Chuter ..
Miss Mary Imray ..	0	1	0	Miss Elaine East ..
Miss Ada Sinclair ..	0	1	0	Miss Gertrude Morris ..
Mrs. Louisa Bursem ..	0	1	0	Mrs. Graham ..
Mrs. E. Snelling ..	0	1	0	
Miss Marie Brackenbury ..	0	1	0	
BALANCE-SHEET FOR SEPTEMBER.				
Balance Sept. 1 ..	343	2	4	Expenditure during month ..
Receipts as above ..	96	8	9	Balance Sept. 30 ..
	442	11	1	

£ 2,621 6 9

£ 325 2 4

117 8 9

£ 143 11 1

MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

WOMEN in all parts of the country are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the one Women's Social and Political Union are invited to the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements-Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

I endorse the objects and methods of the men's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote.

There is no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give £1.00 to cover postage. Subscriptions of larger amounts are urgently needed for the support of the movement.

